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EARLY EXEGETICAL PRACTICE ON AVICENNA’S *ŠIFĀ’*: FAḤR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ’S *MARGINALIA* TO LOGIC

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Abstract. Nine manuscripts preserving Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Šifā’* share a set of identical marginal glosses to the section of *Logic*. One of these manuscripts reports, at the end of each of the glosses, a certificate of transmission ascribing them to the theologian and philosopher Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606H/1210), which provides some material evidence of the existence of a flourishing exegetical activity on the *Kitāb al-Šifā’* during the twelfth-thirteenth century, in spite of the apparent lack of commentaries on the text in that period. The present paper provides an edition of the so far unknown *ḥāšiyāt* to Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Šifā’* by al-Rāzī, with an attempt at reconstructing their tradition and contextualizing them within al-Rāzī’s exegetical and teaching activity.

Résumé. Neuf manuscrits qui préservent le *Kitāb al-Šifā’* d’Avicenne partagent le même groupe de notes marginales à la section de *Logique*. Au bout de chacune de ces gloses, un des manuscrits préserve aussi un certificat de transmission qui les attribue au théologien et philosophe Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (m. 606H/1210), ce qui nous fournit une évidence matérielle de l’existence d’une florissante activité exégétique sur le *Kitāb al-Šifā’* entre le XII^e et XIII^e siècle, malgré le manque apparent de commentaires sur le texte dans cette période-là. Cet article offre une édition des *ḥāšiyāt* d’al-Rāzī au *Kitāb al-Šifā’* d’Avicenne, dont l’existence était ignorée jusqu’à présent, en essayant au même temps de fournir une reconstruction de leur tradition et de les contextualiser dans le cadre de l’activité exégétique et didactique d’al-Rāzī.

INTRODUCTION

The production of commentaries on Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Šifā’* recorded between the eleventh and the sixteenth century is quite scarce, especially if compared with that concerning Avicenna’s *Kitāb al-Išārāt*.¹ Of course, we are

¹ Only two partial commentaries on the *Šifā’* produced before the 16th century are attested, namely that of Ibn Zayla (d. 439H/1048) and that of ‘allāma al-Ḥillī (d. 726H/1325). See

not allowed to conclude that Avicenna's *Šifā'* was left unstudied until the sixteenth century: on the contrary, the study of this major work of Avicenna massively supported the exegetical activity concerning Avicenna's *Isārāt*.² The present paper aims at providing further evidence to support this claim by bringing to attention the existence of a flourishing exegetical practice concerning Avicenna's *Šifā'* preserved in the form of *marginalia* (*ḥāšiyāt*). More in particular, I shall present, in this paper, a group of newly-discovered marginal glosses reported in nine manuscripts preserving Avicenna's *Šifā'*, ascribed in one of the nine manuscripts (MS Ragıp Paşa 910, henceforth: MS R) to the theologian and philosopher Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606H/1210).³ The glosses concern the first three works (*funūn*) of the section of Logic of the *Šifā'*, namely the sections corresponding to Porphyry's *Isagoge* (*Kitāb al-Madḥal*), to Aristotle's *Categories* (*Kitāb al-Maqūlāt*) and to Aristotle's *De Interpretatione* (*Kitāb al-'Ibāra*).

In the first section of the present paper (I), I will display the witnesses preserving the glosses; in the second section (II), I will argue for a scholastic purpose and tradition of the glosses, drawing some general conclusions in the third section (III). Finally, I will provide an edition and an English translation of the marginal glosses in the last section of the paper (IV).

I. THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE GLOSSES

I.1. *A general overview of the manuscript tradition: the role of MS Ragıp Paşa 910 (= R)*

Among the nine manuscripts that I am going to take into account, MS Ragıp Paşa 910 (= R) deserves a special attention. It is an undated manuscript that preserves the entire *Šifā'* and records several *marginalia* written in a handwriting that is clearly different from the copyist's. In fact, an anonymous corrector worked on this manuscript, importing by collation several marginal variants,⁴ that he collected from a number of manuscripts he had at his disposal:

R. Wisnovsky, "Avicenna's Islamic reception", in P. Adamson (ed.), *Interpreting Avicenna* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 190–213, esp. p. 194.

² See the aforementioned Wisnovsky, "Avicenna's Islamic reception", pp. 203–5.

³ On Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's life and works, see G. C. Anawati, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī", in *EF*², vol. II, pp. 751–5; R. Arnaldez, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī commentateur du Coran et philosophe* (Paris, 2002), pp. 20–2; A. Shihadeh, *The Teleological Ethics of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (Leiden-Boston, 2006), pp. 4–11; F. Griffel, "On Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's life and the patronage he received", *Journal of Islamic Studies*, 18 (2007): 313–44 and F. Griffel, "Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī", in H. Lagerlund (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Philosophy* (2011), pp. 341–5. For a catalogue of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's works, cf. M. Šāliḥ al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī wa-āwā' uhu al-kalāmiyya wa-al-falsafiyā* (Beirut, 1963), pp. 56–164.

⁴ In some cases, the process of collation is revealed by marks like *nusha badal* or simply *nusha*.

some variants are, in fact, introduced by a reference to a plurality of “manuscripts that we have”.⁵ The possibility that the anonymous corrector imported by collation in MS R also the glosses ascribed to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī should therefore not be overlooked. Though nothing is known of the identity of the anonymous corrector, a *terminus post quem* to date the insertion of all the *marginalia* in MS R is provided by some marginal notes quoting a few *lemmata* of *al-Qāmūs al-muḥīṭ* by al-Fīrūzābādī (d. 817H/1415), which grants that the *marginalia* were copied in MS R at least after the second half of the fourteenth century/the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁶

MS R is, to my knowledge, the only manuscript preserving a certificate of transmission ascribing the glosses that are going to be presented here to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The set of glosses ascribed to him in MS R (edited in Section IV of the paper) consists in fourteen glosses commenting upon *K. al-Madḥal* (fols. 1^v–18^r), eleven commenting upon *K. al-Maqūlāt* (fols. 18^r–60^v) and eight commenting upon *K. al-'Ibāra* (fols. 60^v–78^r). These glosses are systematically accompanied in MS R by a certificate of transmission in the form of *min ḥaṭṭ* (“from the copy/from the writing of...”), or in the form of *nuqila min ḥaṭṭ* (“it was copied from the copy/writing of...”),⁷ mentioning the author's name in the complete form of *Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī* (see glosses 3 and 9 to *K. al-Madḥal*), or in the abridged forms of *al-Rāzī*, *al-Imām al-Rāzī* and *al-Imām*.⁸ Although there is no way to ascertain such an authorial ascription, there is some codicological evidence granting that it is not just the result of a late forgery, and that the entire set of glosses ascribed to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī is at least anterior to the second half of the thirteenth century. In fact, two thirteenth-century manuscripts, namely MS Maktabat al-Azhar al-Šarīf, Beḥīt Collection 44988, 331 *falsafa* (henceforth: MS B) and MS Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2710 (henceforth:

⁵ For instance, fol. 641^r: *mā bayna al-'alāmatayni fī al-nusaḥi al-mawḡūdati 'indanā ḥakaḏā* [...] (“what is between the two marks is [reported] in this manner in the manuscripts we have”) and fol. 671^r: *ḥakaḏā fī ḡamī'i al-nusaḥi allatī 'indanā mā bayna al-'alāmatayni* [...] (“in this manner is [reported] what is between the two marks in all the manuscripts we have”).

⁶ The *Qāmūs* was seemingly composed before 1394; see H. Fleisch, “Al-Fīrūzābādī”, in *ET*, vol. II (1991), pp. 926–7.

⁷ Cf. A. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition – A Glossary of Technical Terms and Bibliography* (Leiden, 2012), p. 144.

⁸ Al-Rāzī was frequently qualified simply as *al-Imām*; see, for instance, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (d. 1270), *Uyūn al-anbā' fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭibbā*, ed. A. Müller, 2 vols. (Königsberg, 1884), vol. II, pp. 23ff.; Šams al-Dīn al-Samarqandī (fl. 1291) in his *al-Šāḥifa al-Ilāhiyya* (see R. Wisnovsky, “Towards a genealogy of Avicennism”, *Oriens*, 42 [2014]: 323–63, p. 346) and Aḥīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663H/1264) in his *Kašf al-ḥaqā'iq fī ṭahrīr al-daḡā'iq* preserved in MS Tehran, Maḡlis-i Šūrā-yi Millī 2752, and translated in H. Eichner, “Essence and existence. Thirteen-century perspectives in Arabic-Islamic philosophy and theology”, in D. Hasse, A. Bertolacci (eds.), *The Arabic, Hebrew and Latin Reception of Avicenna's Metaphysics* (Berlin-Boston, 2012), pp. 123–51. For the title of *Imām al-muṣakkikīn* (“chief of doubters”), cf. S. H. Nasr, “Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī”, in M. A. Razavi (ed.), *The Islamic Intellectual Tradition in Persia* (New York, 1996), pp. 106–21 and Wisnovsky, “Towards a genealogy of Avicennism”, pp. 326–8.

MS N), preserve this set of glosses almost completely, with many other anonymous glosses that are not preserved in MS R,⁹ and in both manuscripts the handwriting of the main text and that of the glosses coincide, which means that the glosses were already preserved at least in a manuscript copied before 666H/1267–8 (*i.e.* the date of copy of MS N). MSS NB are stemmatically related, as I will argue, to MS Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1424 (henceforth: MS C), dating to 693H/1293, and to two Ottoman manuscripts dating to the 18th century, namely MS Ragıp Paşa 909 (henceforth: MS P) and MS Atıf Efendi 1565 (henceforth: MS A). As I shall argue, these five manuscripts are the most complete witnesses of the glosses and represent a branch in the manuscript tradition of Avicenna's *Šifā'*. Three other manuscripts just cursorily report few of this set of glosses, probably importing them by collation (*cf.* I.3 *infra*). In what follows, a more detailed description of the *testimonia* shall be provided, starting with what I will call the "Razian branch".

I.2. The "Razian branch" in the manuscript tradition of the K. al-Šifā'

The certificates of transmission preserved in MS R attest the existence of a manuscript of Avicenna's *Šifā'* having in its margins the glosses ascribed to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. I shall argue that it is possible to individuate a branch in the manuscript tradition of Avicenna's *Šifā'* – that I will call "Razian branch" – consisting in five manuscripts drawing both the main text and the marginal glosses from the same antigraph, that could be a descendant of the "Razian manuscript" (α) and the main way of transmission of the glosses ascribed to al-Rāzī.

I.2.1. The thirteenth-century tradition: MSS Beḥīt 331 (= B), Nuruosmaniye 2710 (= N) and Carullah 1424 (= C)

[MS B] Cairo, Maktabat al-Azhar al-Šarīf, Beḥīt Collection 44988, 331 *falsafa* (dat. 7th/13th c.)¹⁰: a thirteenth-century manuscript employed in the Cairo edition of Avicenna's *Šifā'*, written in *nashī*. The manuscript preserves a huge number of marginal variants¹¹ and anonymous marginal glosses of philosophical

⁹ These anonymous glosses will not be taken into consideration in the present paper, due to the difficulty of establishing whether they could be ascribed to the same author or not.

¹⁰ MS (13) in the list provided in A. Bertolacci, "On the manuscripts of the *Ilāhiyyāt* of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Šifā'*", in A. Akasoy, W. Raven (eds.), *Islamic Thought in the Middle Ages – Studies in Text, Transmission and Translation*, in Honour of Hans Daiber (Leiden-Boston, 2008), pp. 59–75, p. 62. The manuscript is described in G. C. Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie avicennienne* (Cairo, 1950), p. 70 and in Avicenne, *La Métaphysique du Šifā'*. *Livres I à V*. Traduction, introduction, notes et commentaires par G. C. Anawati (Paris, 1978), pp. 18–19.

¹¹ See *K. al-Madḥal*, p. (69), in the Cairo edition of Avicenna's *Šifā'* by G. Anawātī, M. Al-Khuḍayrī, A. F. Al-Ahwānī (Cairo, 1952; henceforth: Cairo edition); and Anawati, *La Métaphysique du Šifā'*, p. 19.

interest, among which those ascribed to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in MS R, in the same handwriting as the main text.

[MS N] İstanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2710 (copied in the period: 25 Rabī' al-Awwal 666H–25 Šawwāl 666H/21st December 1267–15th July 1268)¹²: the manuscript is written in a fine *nashī*. The colophon of the manuscript (fol. 229^r) preserves also the name of the copyist: 'Abd al-Kāfī Ibn 'Abd al-Mağīd Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Tabrīzī. In MS N as well, the handwriting of the main text seems to be the same of part of the *marginalia* (among which all those matching with the glosses ascribed to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in MS R).¹³

[MS C] İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Carullah 1424 (dat. 693H/1293–4)¹⁴: according to the colophon (fol. 467^v), it was copied by the professional copyist Abū Bakr 'Abd Allāh Ibn Aḥmad Ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Tabrīzī. This manuscript reports only a few marginal notes and several marginal variants, and its copy was commissioned by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī for his library (cf. *infra* T2).

1.2.2. The 13th century Ottoman tradition: MSS Ragıp Paşa 909 (= P) and Atıf Efendi 1565 (= A)

Both MSS P and A can be dated to the first half of the 18th century; more in detail, I will argue for a strong connection of both the manuscripts with the school of As'ad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Uṭmān al-Yānyawī, the Ottoman scholar from Ioannina, professor and author of a translation of the commentaries on Aristotle's works composed by the Greek scholar Ioannes Cottunius (d. 1658).¹⁵

¹² The manuscript is also dated to 666H in Bertolacci, "On the manuscripts of the *Ilāhiyyāt*", p. 64 (MS 34), Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie*, p. 77, and Y. Mahdavi, *Fihrist nushaha-i mušannafāt-i Ibn-i Sīnā* (Tehran, 1954), p. 170; a dating to 660H/1262 is provided by R. Wisnovsky, "Indirect evidence for establishing the text of the *Šifā'*", *Oriens*, 40 (2012): 257–73, p. 262.

¹³ Some other marginalia in MS N are written in a different handwriting: a note on the first page of the MS N (cf. *infra*, T1) warns us that some of the *marginalia* are by the hand of Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī, but a palaeographical exam of those notes exceeded the purpose of this paper.

¹⁴ MS (44) in Bertolacci, "On the manuscripts of the *Ilāhiyyāt*", p. 64 and (4) in Wisnovsky, "Indirect evidence", p. 262; see also Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie*, p. 71 and Mahdavi, *Fihrist*, p. 170.

¹⁵ See M. Sait Özervarlı, "Yanyalı Esad Efendi's works on philosophical texts as part of the Ottoman translation movement in the early eighteenth century", in B. Schmidt-Haberkamp (ed.), *Europa und die Türkei im 18. Jahrhundert/Europe and Turkey in the 18th Century* (Bonn, 2011), pp. 457–72; B. Harun Küçük, "Natural philosophy and politics in the eighteenth century: Esad of Ioannina and Greek Aristotelianism at the Ottoman Court", *The Journal of Ottoman Studies*, 41 (2013): 125–58. See also D. Gutas, "Translations from Greek and Syriac", s.v. "Tardjama", *EF*², vol. X, pp. 225–9, esp. p. 228. On these two manuscripts and their relation with the school of As'ad al-Yānyawī, see also S. Di Vincenzo, "Reading

[MS P] İstanbul, Ragıp Paşa 909 (dat. 29 Ğumādā al-āhira 1134H/ 16th April 1722)¹⁶: this manuscript only containing the section of Logic of Avicenna's *Šifā'* was copied by Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad al-Uskūbī in the *madrasa* of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī in Constantinople, under the request of his master As'ad Ibn 'Alī Ibn 'Uṡmān al-Yānyawī,¹⁷ a few days before the copy of MS P was completed, al-Yānyawī had accomplished in the same *madrasa* a translation of Cottunius' commentary on Aristotle's logical works.¹⁸

[MS A] İstanbul, Atıf Efendi 1565 (undated)¹⁹: the manuscript contains the first five *funūn* of the Logic of Avicenna's *Šifā'*; though neither the date nor the place of copy are stated in the colophon, it is possible to trace back the manuscript to the same time and *milieu* of MS P. The main text in MS A was copied by at least three scribes, who also alternated in copying the manuscript's *marginalia*. The glosses that are here examined, more in detail, are for the most part written in A in the same handwriting (for the sake of simplicity, hand₁) that also copied a portion of the text (from fol. 101^r to fol. 103^v), whereas glosses 5–7 on *K. al- 'Ibāra* were copied by the scribe (hand₂) who also copied a portion of the main text from fol. 106^r on. Hand₁ is seemingly also responsible for some notes copied on folios later added to the manuscript, some of which are dated to the 29 Şafar 1135H (*i.e.* 9th December 1722), hence hand₁ was working on MS A only a few months after the end of the copy of MS P. In addition, these and several other notes quote the works of “our professor, the philosopher As'ad” (*li-ustāḏinā al-faylasūf As'ad*),²⁰ which means that at least hand₁ (but possibly also the other scribes of the manuscript) was a student of As'ad al-Yānyawī. All these elements together allow us to connect MS A to the same *milieu* in which MS P was copied.

Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Šifā'* in the Ottoman world: the circulation of the work within the school of As'ad al-Yānyawī”, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* [forthcoming].

¹⁶ See Mahdavi, *Fihrist*, p. 171.

¹⁷ According to the information provided by the colophon (fol. 426^r).

¹⁸ As stated in the colophons of MSS İstanbul, Ayasofya 2568 and Nuruosmaniye 2655, containing al-Yānyawī's translation of Cottunius' commentary on Aristotle's logical works, that was accomplished the day 21 of Ğumādā al-āhira 1134H (*i.e.* 8th April 1722, just eight days before the end of the copy of MS P), when he was teacher in the *madrasa* of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī in Constantinople; cf. R. Şeşen, *Mukhtārāt min al-makḥṭūṭāt al- 'Arabiyya al-nādira fī maktabāt Turkiyā* (İstanbul, 1997), p. 296.

¹⁹ See Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie*, p. 75 and Mahdavi, *Fihrist*, p. 171.

²⁰ For instance, the notes in the folio between fol. 227^v and fol. 228^r and the folio between fol. 238^v and 239^r. The aforementioned note in the folio between fol. 242^v and 243^r is an excerpt of “the professor's translation” (*min tarğamati al-ustāḏ*), which might be a reference to the aforementioned translation of Cottunius' commentary on Aristotle's logical works.

I.2.3. The stemmatic relation between MSS NBCPA, namely the “Razian branch”

It is possible to argue for a stemmatic relation between MSS NBCPA on the basis of some shared mistakes and variants in the main text²¹: from now on, I will name β the common ancestor of MSS NBCPA. The five manuscripts also share other identical glosses mentioning a manuscript belonging to a “master” (*mawlā*) that was evidently collated with MS β . A peculiar case is that of a marginal note that is preserved in the margins of MS N and that ended up being interpolated in MSS BCPA in *K. al-Maqūlāt*, V.5 (see Tab. 1):

Tab. 1. *K. al-Maqūlāt*, V.5, p. 193.13–14: an interpolated gloss in MSS BCPA²²

N, fol. 24^v: “Marginal note. He means, by ‘the subsistent subjects’, the subjects having an existence and an essence other than the essence of that to which the existence of that quality belongs as a form, as, for instance, a piece of iron, in which heat exists. Heat, in fact, is not its form, but rather it [i.e. the piece of iron] has another existence and essence, and then heat occurs to it”.

B, fol. 63^r; P, fol. 69^v: [With reference to the interpolated note] “What is between the two marks, is written in the margin in the manuscript of our master – may Allāh sanctify his spirit! –, and ‘marginal [note]’ is written above it”.

ما بين العلامتين في نسخة مولانا قدس الله
روحه مكتوب على الحاشية وكتب عليه
حاشية.
يريد بالموضوعات القائمة الموضوعات التي لها
وجود وحقيقة غير حقيقة ما وجود تلك
الكيفية صورة له مثلاً كقطعة حديد وقد
وجدت فيها الحرارة فإن الحرارة ليست صورة
لها بل لها وجود وحقيقة أخرى ثم عرضت لها
الحرارة.

The marginal note we find in MS N was evidently meant as a comment upon Avicenna's expression “subsistent subjects” (*al-mawdū'āt al-qā'ima*) in the passage of *K. al-Maqūlāt* V.5, p. 193.13, but MSS BCPA have it interpolated

²¹ To provide an example, in *K. al-Madḥal* I.6, p. 36.16 the common antigraph of the five manuscripts evidently omitted the clause: *wa-laysa ka-al-maḍkūri ma 'ahu* (“and it is not like what has been mentioned with it”), since MS NBPA omit it (MSS NA add it in the margin) and MS C, though it has the clause in the text, preserves above the beginning and the end of the clause two marks denoting that the clause was integrated after being imported by another manuscript.

²² MSS C and A are affected by the interpolation, though without preserving the marginal note that rectifies it. According to the apparatus of Cairo ed., the same interpolation also affects MS Damat 824, which could be related to MSS NBCPA (a stemmatic relation between MSS B and Damat 824 was already claimed by both Madkour and Sālim).

in the main text. We learn that the gloss was in the margin of the manuscript of an unspecified *mawlā* from a marginal note in MSS BP aimed at rectifying the erroneous interpolation of the gloss affecting MSS BCPA (MSS CA omit the marginal note rectifying the mistake). The interpolation shared by MSS BCPA could either be explained by assuming a stricter relation between the four manuscripts, claiming that they share a common antigraph (γ) descending from MS β , or by arguing that the interpolation of the gloss already affected MS β , and that the marginal note rectifying the mistake that we find in MSS BP was in MS β as well. In the latter case, MS N could easily have emended the interpolation and restored the marginal note following the instructions provided by the marginal correction we find in MSS BP, and the interpolation in MSS BCPA wouldn't account for a stricter stemmatic relation between the four manuscripts. However it might be, the presence of such a note in the margin of MS N and in the text of MSS BCPA is a clear evidence of a stemmatic relation between MSS NBCPA, since it proves that the five manuscripts all depend on the same source preserving the *ḥāṣīya*.

A relation between MSS NBCPA could be also supposed on the basis of some shared mistakes in the text of al-Rāzī's glosses,²³ so that it is likely that both the main text and al-Rāzī's glosses in MSS NBCPA derive from a shared source (β).

I.3. *MSS Damat 823 (= MS D); Yeni Cāmi 770 (= MS Y); Nuruosmaniye 2708 (= MS M)*

The three manuscripts described below all preserve the whole *Šifā'*; due to the poor textual evidence provided by the glosses they preserve, however, it is not safe to try a stemmatic reconstruction from the text of the few glosses they preserve.

[MS D] İstanbul, Damat Ibrahim Paşa 823 (dat. 697H/1297–8; copied by Šahāb al-Karmīnī in his hometown Tabrīz, within the *madrassa* of Ūrḥān):²⁴ the manuscript preserves four of the glosses commenting on *K. al-Madḥal* (n. 1, 4–6), occasionally showing signs of an intentional abridgement of the text. This manuscript reveals signs of collation,²⁵ and it cannot be excluded that the marginal notes might have been imported by collation.

²³ MSS NBP share the omission of *ṣidq* in gloss no. 1 to *K. al-'Ibāra*; unfortunately, neither MS A nor MS C preserve the gloss. MS A, however, seemingly derives the glosses from the same source as MS P (cf. *infra*).

²⁴ MS (47) in Bertolacci, "On the manuscripts of the *Ilāhiyyāt*", p. 65 and (5) in Wisnovsky, "Indirect evidence", p. 263. See also Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie*, p. 74, Mahdavi, *Fihrist*, p. 170.

²⁵ It preserves, in fact, a great amount of marginal variants corresponding to readings of MS β .

[MS Y] İstanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Yeni Câmî 770 (dat. 18 Rabî' al-tânî 888H / 4th June 1483):²⁶ the manuscript reports gloss no. 10 commenting on *K. al-Madḥal* (fol. 26^v): in this case, the hand copying the gloss is clearly different from the one copying the main text, which means that the marginal note was added in a different moment.²⁷ Noteworthy, the gloss ends with a certificate of audition (*sami* 'a, "he listened [to it]").²⁸

[MS M] İstanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi 2708 (dat. 10thH/16th c.,²⁹ copied by 'Alî al-Şābirî): the manuscript was already employed in the Cairo edition of the *K. al-Madḥal*; it preserves glosses nos. 7–8 on *K. al-Madḥal*.

II. A SCHOLASTIC TRADITION OF FAḤR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ'S MARGINALIA ON THE *ŠIFĀ'*?

II.1. *A scholastic destination for al-Rāzī's marginalia*

As to what concerns the nature of al-Rāzī's *marginalia* to the *Šifā'*, most of them provide a *paraphrase* of the main text, sometimes adding further clarifications;³⁰ a number of glosses provide *examples* for Avicenna's arguments, in order to make the main text more understandable,³¹ and some others aim at *making explicit* something that is just alluded to in Avicenna's text, or just referred to by the use of pronouns.³² Some of the notes aim at recalling to the readers' mind other parallel passages of Avicenna's work, by establishing *intertextual* connections,³³ and one is a specific *syntactical remark* suggesting the correct reading of the passage.³⁴ In sum, it can be argued that al-

²⁶ MS (56) in Bertolacci, "On the manuscripts of the *Ilāhiyyāt*", p. 65. See also Anawati, *Essai de bibliographie*, p. 77 and Mahdavi, *Fihrist*, p. 170.

²⁷ The same hand seemingly wrote some other marginal notes on MS Y, like those at fol. 63^v and fol. 67^v.

²⁸ See the aforementioned Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 53.

²⁹ See Cairo edition of *K. al-Madḥal*, p. (73).

³⁰ See glosses 1, 3–9, 11, 13, 14 to *K. al-Madḥal*, glosses 2, 4, 6, 9, 11 to *K. al-Maqūlāt* and glosses 1, 2, 4, 5, 8 to *K. al-'Ibāra*.

³¹ See gloss 10 to *K. al-Maqūlāt* and gloss 7 to *K. al-'Ibāra*.

³² See glosses 2, 10, 12 to *K. al-Madḥal*, glosses 1, 3, 5 to *K. al-Maqūlāt* and glosses 3, 6 to *K. al-'Ibāra*.

³³ See gloss 2 to *K. al-Madḥal* and gloss 8 to *K. al-Maqūlāt*.

³⁴ See gloss 7 on in *K. al-Maqūlāt*. Al-Rāzī is mainly concerned with the particle *mā* employed by Avicenna in *K. al-Maqūlāt* I.4, p. 35.2: by pointing out that it can be replaced by the relative pronoun *allaḏī*, he aims at preventing a reading of the *mā* as if it were an indefinite particle linked to the preceding *bi-'araḏin* (the entire expression would sound: *lam yu'ni bi-'araḏin mā*, "it is not meant a certain accident"). Al-Rāzī is right in claiming that the role of the particle *mā* is analogous to that of the relative pronoun, for it is recalled by the *bihi* in the following phrase: *mā...ša'ara bihi* ("what...he understood"). The difficulty that made al-Rāzī comment on the exact reading of the passage is represented by the fact that *mā* and *bihi* are

Rāzī's *marginalia* have a didascalic approach, without being meant as an original commentary on the text, for they lack of any original verification of the theories they comment on.³⁵ Therefore, I'd suggest that they were meant to be a didactic tool supporting the reading of the text. In what follows, I shall argue that most of the manuscripts preserving these *marginalia* can be traced back to a scholastic tradition, which would support the idea that the public these glosses address is mainly that of the students in a school context, and that their diffusion is mostly reliant on the diffusion of the main text within a school tradition.

The main focus of my reconstruction will be the contextualization of MS β, *i.e.* the common ancestor of MSS NBCPA (the so-called "Razian branch"): a contextualization of MS β is relevant to our knowledge of the principal way of transmission of al-Rāzī's *marginalia*.³⁶ I will examine the codicological evidence provided by the earliest manuscripts of the "Razian branch" (MSS NBC) allowing to contextualize them and their common ancestor β.³⁷ I will start considering MSS NC singularly taken (leaving initially aside MS B, of which little is known), and I will try to argue that each one of them is related to the school of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (II.2). Then, I will proceed considering MSS NBC all together, arguing for a relation of their common ancestor (MS β) with al-Ṭūsī's school (II.3).

II.2. *The connection of MSS NC with the school of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274)*

MS N provides several elements that are crucial to a historical reconstruction. The first folio reports a text written in a handwriting different from the copyist's one, copying an *iğāza*³⁸ reportedly written by 'Alī b. 'Umar b. 'Alī al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī (d. 675H/1276) for the copyist of MS N 'Abd al-Kāfī b. 'Abd al-Mağīd

separated by another clause, in a way that the syntactical role of *mā* could be not so evident, and it might well have been taken for an indefinite particle.

³⁵ This is quite evident in gloss 4 on *K. al-Maḳūlāt*: although al-Rāzī gradually defined his opinion on time throughout his life before reaching the view held in *al-Maḳālib al- 'ālīya* (*i.e.* that time is a substance), it can be safely stated that he didn't agree with Avicenna's view that time is an accident, which means that the marginal gloss to *K. al-Maḳūlāt* is simply meant to report Avicenna's view on this subject matter, without discussing its validity. For al-Rāzī's view on time in one of his early works, the *Mabāḥiṭ al-Maṣriqiyya*, see Arnaldez, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī commentateur du Coran et philosophe*, pp. 192–5.

³⁶ MSS NB are, besides MS R, the only complete witnesses of the notes, and MSS PA preserve a considerable number of them.

³⁷ Unfortunately, the two Ottoman descendants of MS β don't provide as much evidence as the three thirteenth-century witnesses, both because they are much later copies and because they preserve only the section of Logic of the *Šifā'*.

³⁸ For a bibliography on the *iğāza* as a certificate of transmission, cf. Gacek, *The Arabic Manuscript Tradition*, pp. 216–19. The anonymous figure copying this *iğāza* on the first folio of MS N claims to be the owner of several volumes copied by the copyist of MS N, among which the volume of the *Šarḥ 'aqd al-ğawāhir* from which he copies the *iğāza*, and was evidently also the owner of MS N itself.

b. 'Abd Allāh al-Tabrīzī, in the first page of a copy of al-Kātibī's *Šarḥ 'aqd al-ḡawāhir*, in which al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī states that the copyist of MS N read the book before him, getting, therefore, the permission to transmit it.³⁹ The text clearly points to the fact that the copyist of MS N was a student of al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, since that of conceding an *iḡāza* was a school practice concerning the teaching and the transmission of a text. Moreover, the copyist of MS N is also explicitly introduced, in the first line of the text, as a student (*tilmīd*) of al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī.⁴⁰ The *iḡāza* was reportedly issued by al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī for the copyist of MS N in the half of the month of Ġumādā al-ūlā of the year 659H (i.e. between the 10th April and the 9th May 1261 AD), which means that the copyist of MS N was already a student of al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī when the latter was active, together with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, within the school of Marāḡa.⁴¹ In sum, the copyist of MS N was a scholar active in Marāḡa whose main domain of interest was geometry, since he is qualified in the *iḡāza* as *sayyid al-muhandisīn* ("master of the geometers"). An 'Abd al-Kāfī 'Abd al-Maḡīd 'Abīd⁴² Allāh is also reported to have finished copying MS Esad Efendi 3804 in the town of Marāḡa on the 5th Ša'bān 665H (8th May 1267),⁴³ and an 'Abd al-Kāfī 'Abd al-Maḡīd 'Abd Allāh al-Tabrīzī is also the copyist of MS Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı, Ahmet III 3453/16 in 677H/1278, in Baḡdād.⁴⁴ If the identification of the two copyists with the copyist of MS N holds, then the copyist of MS N should have moved from Marāḡa to Baḡdād at a later stage of his career, which could well have a relation with a specific event of the history of the school of Marāḡa, namely the transferral of a large number of scholars

³⁹ Lines 1–9. The expression: *qara'a alayya* ("he read to me") has a technical use in similar texts; see, for instance, R. Pourjavady and S. Schmidtke, "Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311) as a teacher: an analysis of his *ijāzāt*", *Journal Asiatique*, 297.1 (2009): 15–55.

⁴⁰ Quoting the beginning of the page, l. 1: "this Book of extreme clarity was written by (*bi-ḥaqq*) the 'allāma student (*tilmīd*) of al-Kātibī".

⁴¹ Many of the major scholars of the time had gathered in Marāḡa after the foundation of al-Ṭūsī's astronomic observatory in 657H/1259 with Hülegü's patronage, giving birth to what could be defined, using D. Gutas' words, a "cluster of philosophical activity". See A. H. Al-Rahim, "The Twelver-Šī'ī reception of Avicenna in the Mongol period", in A. H. Al-Rahim, D. C. Reisman (eds.), *Before and After Avicenna: Proceedings of the First Conference of the Avicenna Study Group* (Leiden, 2003), pp. 219–32, esp. p. 220 and D. Gutas, "The heritage of Avicenna: The golden age of Arabic philosophy, 1000-ca. 1350", in J. Janssens, D. De Smet (eds.), *Avicenna and his Heritage* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 81–97, esp. pp. 95–6.

⁴² This is the reading printed in Şeşen, p. 76. The palaeographical difference between 'Abd and 'Abīd is, however, minimal, and I suspect that the name reported in the catalogue could be the same of the copyist of MS N.

⁴³ See M. Krause, "Stambuler Handschriften islamischer Mathematiker", *Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie und Physik*, Ab. B 3 (1936): 437–532 (esp. p. 526), and Şeşen, p. 76.

⁴⁴ R. Rashed, *Founding Figures and Commentators in Arabic Mathematics*, (London, 2011), p. 36 and *id.*, *Ibn al-Haytham's Theory of Conics, Geometrical Constructions and Practical Geometry* (London, 2013), p. 428.

from Marāḡa to Baḡdād that took place in 1274.⁴⁵ According to this reconstruction, the copyist of MS N is a scholar initially enrolled in the school of Marāḡa as a student of al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī who might have joined al-Ṭūsī moving to Baḡdād in 1274.

Another note in the first folio of MS N (T1), provides another clue of the connection of this manuscript with the school of Marāḡa:

T1: “In the margin some of the excerpts are [written] by the ‘*allāma* Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī, and this manuscript was read (*maqrū’a*) before the ‘*allāma* al-Šīrāzī.”

The use of the technical expression *maqrū’a* (“read”)⁴⁶ points to the fact that this note witnesses again the school practice of reading a work in front of a teacher in order to get a permission (*iḡāza*) to transmit it. The fact that MS N was read before Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī (d. 710H/1311), and that some of the *marginalia* of MS N are his own, proves that he played an active role in the teaching and transmission of the text. This piece of information is of the utmost interest in order to place MS N in its own cultural context. By the time MS N was copied, Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī as well was a student of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī within the school of Marāḡa⁴⁷; although he might well have annotated the manuscript later on, his activity on the manuscript is in itself another clue of the connection of the manuscript with al-Ṭūsī’s school.

Albeit copied well after MS N, MS C as well can be reconducted to the same school tradition. As it can be inferred by the decorated title page on fol. 1^r (T2), MS C was a copy requested by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī for his library⁴⁸:

T2. MS C, title page, fol. 1^r: “For the library of the great master, the high *imām*, the greatest, the most perfect, the most excellent and the most learned, the learned ruler of the sages, the most learned of the sons of Adam, Quṭb al-Milla wa-al-Dīn, proof of the Islām and of the Muslims, counselor of the kings and lords.”

Considering that MS C was requested by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī allows to explain why the text and the *marginalia* preserved in the copy are related to those of MS N, that is very likely to derive from a manuscript circulating in the school of Marāḡa.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Al-Ṭūsī’s biography reports that al-Ṭūsī himself moved, together with many of his students, from Marāḡa to Baḡdād shortly before his death; see Ibn Šākir al-Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ed. I. ‘Abbās (Beirut, 1973–4), vol. 3, p. 251.

⁴⁶ On this expression, see Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, p. 54.

⁴⁷ Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī’s departure from Marāḡa is supposed in his mid-thirties, between 667H/1268 and 672H/1274; see J. Walbridge, *The Science of Mystic Lights* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992), p. 13.

⁴⁸ Mahdavi (*Fihrist*, p. 170) already reported this information.

⁴⁹ When MS C was copied (1293–4), Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī was probably active in Tabrīz (see Walbridge, *The Science of Mystic Lights*, p. 21 and n. 69). Although it is not explicitly stated, there is some possibility that MS C circulated in Tabrīz.

II.3. *The connection of MS β with al-Ṭūsī's school*

The reconstruction provided so far can be further supported by the fact that some of the glosses preserved in MSS NBC attest a collation of MS β with the manuscript of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, which, together with the data discussed above, definitely leads to place MS β within the school of al-Ṭūsī in Marāğa⁵⁰ (see Tab. 2).

Tab. 2. *Glosses attesting a collation in MSS NBC (β) with al-Ṭūsī's manuscript*

a) Glosses to *K. al-Handasa*, VI, p. 188s.

N, fol. 261^r: This theorem is not preserved in the manuscript from which this manuscript was copied, but it is in the manuscript of the model (*nushat al-aṣl*).⁵¹ The great master Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn – may Allāh prolonge his glory [glory]⁵²! – wrote it in the margins of his manuscript, so I copied it from there. Therefore, the number of theorems of this treatise, with the one introduced by Thābit [Ibn Qurra], is 38.

B, fol. 259^r: This theorem is not preserved in certain manuscripts, but it is in the manuscript of the model. The great master Naṣīr al-Milla wa-al-Dīn wrote it in the margins of his manuscript. Therefore, the number of theorems of this treatise, with the one introduced by Thābit [Ibn Qurra], is 38.

هذا الشكل [ليس]⁵³ في بعض النسخ غير موجود، وفي نسخة الأصل موجود. والمولى المعظم نصير الملة والدين كتبه في حواشي نسخته. فحيث يكون عدد أشكال هذه المقالة مع الذي أورده ثابت لح [= ٣٨].

هذا الشكل ليس في النسخة التي كتبت هذه النسخة منها موجودا، وفي نسخة الأصل موجود. والمولى المعظم نصير الحق والدين أدام الله علوه [علو] كتبه في حواشي نسخته فكتبت منها. فحيث يكون عدد أشكال هذه المقالة مع الذي أورده ثابت لح [= ٣٨].

⁵⁰ Since these glosses concern the section of *Mathematics*, MSS PA do not preserve them.

⁵¹ As to the mention, in the gloss, of a third manuscript (the *nushat al-aṣl*), it may either identify the “manuscript of the antigraph” or “the manuscript of the archetype”. However, it seems to be distinct from the antigraph of MS β, denoting another manuscript from which the theorem that was recorded in the margins of al-Ṭūsī's manuscript was taken. The gloss at point (b) seems to suggest that it was the antigraph from which al-Ṭūsī drew his text; here I chose to translate it as “the model”, in order to distinguish it from the antigraph of MS β.

⁵² Here a scribal mistake occurs, namely the dittography of ‘uluwwahu.

⁵³ There is an evident mistake in the *incipit* of the note in MS B, that I think might have originated in the process of rewriting the part of the note about the antigraph.

b) Glosses to *K. al-Hay'a* IV.4, pp. 246.7–250.3

N, fol. 291^r: With regard to this chapter and theorem, there was a damage in the model (*al-aṣl*), so I copied them in this way, which slightly differs from the model.

B, fol. 400^v; C, fol. 398^v: The great master Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn – may Allāh have mercy of him! – wrote in his manuscript: “in this chapter, with regard to this theorem, there was a damage in the model, so I copied them in this way, which slightly differs from the model [...]”.

كتب المولى المعظم نصير الحق والدين رحمة الله عليه في نسخه: في هذا الفصل في هذا الشكل خلل في الأصل فكتبته على هذا الوجه وهو يخالف الأصل خلل في الأصل فكتبته على هذا الوجه وهو يخالف الأصل في أشياء قليلة. [...]

MSS NBC preserve a series of *marginalia* in the section of *Mathematics* commenting upon Avicenna's text making sometimes reference to the manuscript of “master” (*mawlā*) Naṣīr al-Milla wa-al-Dīn/ Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn (Tab. 2). Both the names of *Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn* and *Naṣīr al-Milla wa-al-Dīn* are elsewhere frequently employed to refer to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī.⁵⁴ The gloss at point (a), of which MSS NB report two slightly different versions, is interesting in many respects. The gloss in MS N apparently makes reference to the manuscript from which N was copied (*al-nuṣṣat allatī kutibat ḥādhihi al-nuṣṣat minhā*), but the presence of a scribal mistake such as the dittography of *'uluwwahu* hints that the note was presumably already in the antigraph of MS N, from which it was copied in MS N itself. Consequently, the “antigraph” mentioned in the note is actually the antigraph of MS β, which seems not to be identified with al-Ṭūsī's manuscript (the one preserving in the margins a theorem that was absent in the antigraph), that was rather the manuscript with which MS β was collated. In MS B some modifications are introduced: firstly, the reference to the “manuscript from which this manuscript was copied” is replaced by the more general phrase: “in certain manuscripts”. Moreover, the eulogy that in MS N followed al-Ṭūsī's name, as well as the remark “so I copied it from there [i.e. al-Ṭūsī's manuscript]”, are omitted in MS B. Quite evidently,

⁵⁴ For *Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn* see, e.g., M. Minovi, V. Minorsky, “Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī on finance”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 10 (1940): 755–89 (esp. p. 755, lines 3–4 of the edition of the Persian treatise, where Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī is introduced as *Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dīn, ḥuḡḡat al-islām wa-al-muslimīn, Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī*). See also the aforementioned Wisnovsky, “Towards a genealogy of Avicennism”, p. 345, quoting a passage of Ibn Kammūnah's *Šarḥ al-Uṣūl wa-al-Ġumal min Muḥimmāt al-ʿIlm wa-al-ʿAmal* from MS Ragıp Paşa 845, where the author refers to al-Ṭūsī as *Naṣīr al-Ḥaqq wa-al-Dawla wa-al-Dīn*. For *Naṣīr al-Milla wa-al-Dīn*, see G. Endress, “Philosophische Ein-band-bibliotheken aus Isfahan”, *Oriens*, 36 (2001): 10–58, esp. pp. 39–40.

these modifications are made on purpose: they show awareness of the fact that, since the gloss was copied in B from its antigraph (being not, therefore, composed directly on MS B), the reference to “the manuscript from which this manuscript was copied” could not suit MS B, nor could the declaration of copying a figure from al-Ṭūsī's manuscript. Apparently, then, the glosses in MS B were intentionally adapted.⁵⁵ Different formulations of the same gloss can also be observed at point (b), showing that MS N reports an abridged version of the gloss. In MSS BC, the gloss continues with the transcription of the passage (pp. 246.7–250.3 of the Cairo ed.) as it was written by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī in his manuscript. In MS N, on the contrary, the different variants of Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's text are reported as interlinear variant above the main text (instead of copying a second version of the entire passage in the margin, as MSS BC did).⁵⁶

It seems safe to conclude that the glosses preserved by MSS NBC referring to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's manuscript were written in MS β by one of his students who had access to al-Ṭūsī's manuscript and who collated β with it; hence, it seems very likely that MS β circulated within the school of Marāğa.⁵⁷

II.4. *A hypothesis on the tradition of the glosses within the “Razian branch”*

In what follows, a *stemma* of the “Razian branch” is proposed (S1), together with some provisional conclusions on the scholastic circulation of the glosses (summarized in S2). According to the authorial ascription preserved in MS R, the glosses by Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī originated from a manuscript annotated by al-Rāzī himself (MS α in S1), dating, therefore, before 1210 (*i.e.* the year of al-Rāzī's death). The existence of MS β can be reconstructed on the basis of the textual relation existing between MSS NBCPA.⁵⁸ Furthermore, within the family of manuscripts descending from β, the possibility that MSS BCPA depend on a common ancestor (γ) deriving from MS β is suggested by the interpolation shown before in Tab. 1, shared by MSS BCPA to the exclusion of

⁵⁵ This process might have also involved the adaptation of the eulogies in MS B that can be observed in the glosses in Tab. 2.

⁵⁶ This provides us with a proof of the fact that the gloss in MSS BC do not derive from MS N, since otherwise it would be difficult to explain how they got the information that this passage was in al-Ṭūsī's manuscript.

⁵⁷ The fact that the marginal notes explicitly mentioning al-Ṭūsī's manuscript is gathered in the section of Mathematics somehow reflects one of the major scientific interests of al-Ṭūsī's school; see J. Ragep, “Freeing astronomy from philosophy: an aspect of Islamic influence on science”, *Osiris*, 16 (2001): 49–64+66–71 and K. Niazi, *Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī and the Configuration of the Heavens – A comparison of texts and models* (Dordrecht, 2014). However, if the gloss in Tab. 1 has to be taken as referring to al-Ṭūsī, his manuscript was not exclusively used to check the Mathematics.

⁵⁸ Cf. *supra* §I.2.3.

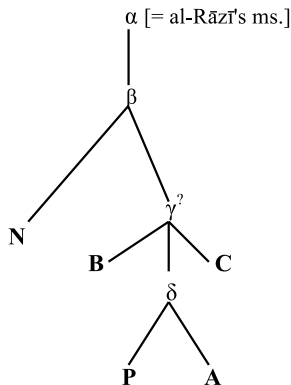
MS N; however, there is still the possibility that both the interpolation and the marginal emendation were already in MS β , and that MS N simply emended the text according to the instructions provided in the marginal emendation.⁵⁹ As to MS δ , it represents the common ancestor shared by the two Ottoman manuscripts PA: in fact, it can be argued that MSS PA are closely related, deriving the glosses from an antigraph δ that probably circulated within the school of al-Yānyawī. Particularly revealing, from this point of view, is the case of gloss no. 6 on *K. al-ʿIbāra*: the two manuscripts add to the gloss a portion of Avicenna's text (*K. al-ʿIbāra* II.2, p. 93.10) that was accidentally omitted in their common ancestor and that is still lacking in both manuscripts. The omission was evidently emended by adding in the margins the portion lacking in the main text, but a copyist might have mistaken this addition in the margin for a part of the marginal note written above it, so that he copied it as if it were a part of the gloss. The fact that MSS PA share both the same omission in the main text and the erroneous interpolation of the text in the gloss accounts for a stricter stemmatic relation between the two.

Generally speaking, the results of the present survey, therefore, point to a scholastic tradition of the *Šifāʾ* connecting Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and his school. A school tradition connecting these figures is attested for the study and transmission of Avicenna's *Iṣārāt*,⁶⁰ that Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī reportedly studied with Aṭīr al-Dīn al-Abharī (d. 663H/1265) who, on its turn, studied it with Quṭb al-Dīn Ibrahīm al-Miṣrī (d. 618H/1221), who had studied it under the guide of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. Both Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī studied under the guide of al-Abharī, so that both the scholars were related to the same school tradition descending from Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, and so were their students Quṭb al-Dīn al-Šīrāzī and ʿAbd al-Kāfī al-Tabrīzī, who played a key-role in the manuscript tradition of al-Rāzī's glosses (see S2 below). To sum up, although we do not have any source explicitly accounting for the scholastic transmission of the *Šifāʾ*, the tradition of Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's glosses seems to reveal that the transmission of this work and that of the *Iṣārāt* might have followed an analogous path.

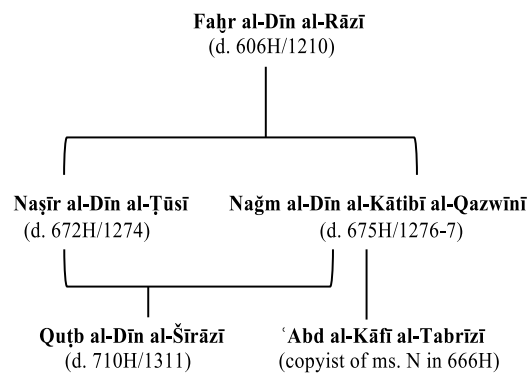
⁵⁹ Cf. *supra*, §I.2.3.

⁶⁰ Our knowledge of the transmission of Avicenna's *Iṣārāt* depends on the *isnād* reported by Ṣalāh al-Dīn Al-Ṣafādī (m. 764H/1363), *Al-Wāfī bi-al-Wafayāt* II, pp. 142–3. See G. Endress, "Reading Avicenna in the *Madrasa*: intellectual genealogies and chains of transmission of philosophy and the sciences in the Islamic East", in J. E. Montgomery (ed.), *Arabic Theology, Arabic Philosophy – From the Many to the One: Essays in Celebration of Richard M. Frank*, (Leuven, 2006), pp. 371–422 (esp. pp. 410–5) and R. Wisnovsky, "Avicenna's Islamic reception", in P. Adamson (ed.), *Interpreting Avicenna: Critical Essays*, (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 190–213, esp. pp. 193–9.

S1. A stemma of the "Razian branch"



S2. The scholastic tradition of the glosses



III. CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, I'd suggest that both the nature and the diffusion of the newly-discovered marginal glosses on Avicenna's *Šifā'* ascribed to Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī point to a scholastic circulation. In fact, the *marginalia* are characterized by a didactic style and content, having been originally composed for exegetical and teaching purposes, and were arguably transmitted within a school tradition as an exegetical apparatus functional to the reading of the main text. As I tried to argue, the school tradition to which these glosses are related is that connecting Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī to Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's school: the scholars who were active in al-Ṭūsī's school and who were involved in the transmission of al-Rāzī's glosses are very likely to have inherited al-Rāzī's *marginalia* having studied with scholars who were, on their turn, al-Rāzī's students. A didactic purpose and a mainly scholastic circulation might explain the almost total absence of sources attesting the existence of an exegetical work concerning the *Šifā'* by Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī⁶¹ and the apparently limited diffusion of these *marginalia* outside the so-called "Razian branch". Noteworthy, these *marginalia* provide further evidence of the existence of a school exegetical practice on Avicenna's *Šifā'* in the eleventh-twelfth centuries,

⁶¹ To my knowledge, the only source attesting a commentary by Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the *Šifā'* (more precisely, on the *K. al-Ilāhiyyāt*) is Šalāh al-Dīn al-Šafadī (m. 764H/1363), *Al-Wāfi bi-al-Wafayāt* IV (ed. A. al-Arnā'ūt, T. Muṣṭafā [2000], p. 180; ed. S. Dederling [1974], p. 256), also reported in al-Zarkān, *Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī wa-āra'uhu*, p. 124 as a witness of a probably spurious work ascribed to al-Rāzī. The passage is quite problematic, because al-Šafadī doesn't simply list a commentary on the *K. al-Ilāhiyyāt* among the works of al-Rāzī, but he reports that Rukn al-Dīn ibn al-Qawī' (according to the reading printed by al-Zarkān; ibn al-Qawab' according to the reading of the two editions) believed having seen, in the library of his father, a *Šarḥ Ilāhiyyāt al-Šifā'* ascribed to al-Rāzī. No commentary on the Logic of Avicenna's *Šifā'* is, however, attested.

in spite of the generally acknowledged lack of commentaries specifically devoted to the text. The claim that this lack of commentaries should not make us conclude that the *Šifā'* was neither taught nor studied, that was previously argued on the basis of the pervasive presence of quotations from the *Šifā'* in the commentaries at this stage, is now supported by a new textual evidence. Accordingly, I would expect a more systematic analysis of the manuscript tradition of the *Šifā'*, with special attention to the marginal textual material, to shed a new light on the early stages of the reception of the work.

IV. FAḤR AL-DĪN AL-RĀZĪ'S GLOSSES: EDITION AND TRANSLATION

IV.1. *Glosses on K. al-Madḥal*

- 1) *K. al-Madḥal* I.4, p. 23.3–4: “In fact, talking of the utterances that correspond to their notions is like talking of their notions, but the imposition of the utterances is more effective.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “It means that the difficulty in understanding the notions of the utterances that correspond to what is in the soul, by the part of the one who is addressed by the speech, is like the difficulty in his understanding the notions that are in the soul without the utterances, and one is led to this by a sort of consent and agreement, unless that his being led to ‘the imposition of the utterances’ is ‘more effective’ than anything else.”

(١) يعني أنّ الكلفة في إفهام المخاطب معاني الألفاظ المطابقة لما في النفس كالكلفة في إفهامه المعاني التي في النفس من¹ دون الألفاظ²، ويوصل³ إلى ذلك بنوع من الموافقة والاصطلاح⁴، إلا أنّ وضع الألفاظ وصله إلى ذلك أحسن عملاً من شيء آخر⁵. نقل من خط الإمام الرازي⁶.

Testimonia: MSS NBRDCA

لو يوصل [ويوصل 3. D تليّك المعاني] المعاني – الألفاظ 2. CA || 1. om. من 1. praem. حاشية
من 6. D || 6. om. آخر – إلا أنّ 5. D || 5. الاصطلاح [من الموافقة والاصطلاح 4. N أو يوصل DC
R: om. cett. نقل خط الإمام الرازي

- 2) *K. al-Madḥal* I.4, p. 24.3–4: “Since for those [philosophers] it was not really clear neither the subject of the discipline of logic, nor the domain to which it [*i.e.* the discipline] is assigned,⁶² they stammered and were confused.”

⁶² Reading *mawḍūʿatun* instead of *mawḍūʿuhu*, as printed in the Cairo ed. (p. 24.4). The *rasm* of the two words is identical in most Arabic manuscripts, but the syntactical structure of the phrase requires *mawḍūʿatun*. Certain manuscripts reading *mawḍūʿuhu* were evidently not at ease with the syntax: in MS Leid. Or. 4, for instance, the phrase is modified into *huwa mawḍūʿuhu*. *Mawḍūʿatun* is also the reading translated in the twelfth-century Latin translation: “*et quoniam isti vere non cognoverunt subiectum Logicae, nec partem ad quam instituta est, ideo deliraverunt*”.

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: "The author of this Book [*i.e.* Avicenna] said, in the *Metaphysics* (*al-Ilāhiyyāt*) of this Book: 'the subject of logic are the secondary intelligibles, that depend on the primary intelligibles with respect to the fact that one reaches, because of them, the attainment of something as known from something else [already] known' [cf. *K. al-Ilāhiyyāt* I.2, pp. 10.17–11.2], and this is the fact that they are universal and particular, subject and predicate, essential and accidental."

(٢) قال مصنف هذا الكتاب¹ في الإلهيات من هذا الكتاب: موضوع المنطق هو المعقولات الثواني المستندة إلى² المعقولات الأول من جهة ما يتوصل بها³ إلى تحصيل معلوم من معلوم⁴ آخر، وهو كونها كلية وجزئية، وموضوعة ومحمولة، وذاتية وعرضية. من خط الرازي⁵.

Testimonia: MSS NBRA

praem. تحصيل [معلوم R || منها [بها 3. N || iter. إلى 2. N || هذا المصنف [مصنف هذا الكتاب 1. B || 5. R : om. cett. من خط الرازي 5.]

- 3) *K. al-Madḥal* I.5, p. 25.4–9 (for the example of "‘Abdallāh", cf. *K. al-Iṣārāt*, p. 191 ed. Dunya⁶³): "As to the simple [utterance], it is that whose part doesn't signify *per se* (*dalālatan bi-al-dāti*) a part of the entire notion that is meant, like our saying 'insān'⁶⁴: in fact, 'in' and 'sān' don't signify two parts of the notion of 'insān' from which the notion of 'insān' is composed. In this discipline, the composition that is in virtue of the heard [utterance] (*bi-ḥasabi al-masmū'i*) is not taken into consideration, since a part of it doesn't signify a part of the notion, like our saying "‘Abdu Šams", when it is meant, by it, a personal name and not a servant of the Sun."⁶⁵

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: "He [*i.e.* Avicenna] said 'signification *per se*' just because 'Abdallāh signifies *per se* a designated individual that was given this name, and signifies *per accidens* the fact that he is a servant of Allāh, because this occurs from it in mind in the heard utterance, so that this signification is accidental, whereas the first one is essential."⁶⁶

⁶³ The example of 'Abdallāh introduced by al-Rāzī, though appropriate to explain Avicenna's point, is not the one employed by Avicenna himself in the passage upon which the gloss is commenting, which uses as an example the name 'Abdu Šams (a proper name, literally signifying "servant of the Sun"). This might be a reminiscence, on al-Rāzī's part, of the example employed by Avicenna to explain the very same idea in the *Iṣārāt* (p. 191 ed. Dunya), where the example for the simple utterance is exactly 'Abdallāh.

⁶⁴ The Arabic term means "man"; I chose to simply transliterate it in order to maintain the relation between the word "insān" and its parts immediately understandable.

⁶⁵ The personal name 'Abdu Šams is composed by the words 'abd ("servant") and šams ("Sun").

⁶⁶ The passage al-Rāzī is commenting on is a defence of Aristotle's definition of the simple utterance in *De Int.* 2, 16a19–22, where Aristotle introduces the example of Κάλλιππος, a personal name apparently composed by καλός and ἵππος: Aristotle explicitly states that ἵππος doesn't signify anything *per se* (καθ'αυτό). Avicenna defends Aristotle's general definition of the simple utterance as that whose part doesn't signify anything separately, claiming that it is unnecessary to add that the part doesn't signify anything *per se*. This specification helps

(٣) إنما قال دلالة بالذات لأنَّ عبد الله يدل بذاته على شخص معين قد سمي به، ويدل بالعرض على كونه عبد الله، لأنَّ ذلك يقع منه في الذهن عند مسموع اللفظ، فهذه الدلالة عرضية والأولى ذاتية. نقل من خط الإمام فخر الدين الرازي¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBR

om. cett. R : نقل من خط الإمام فخر الدين الرازي 1. || *praem. N* حاشية

- 4) *K. al-Madḥal* I.5, p. 31.6–14 (cf. also Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Šarḥ al-Išārāt*, 61.9–62.2 ed. Najafzadeh): “If ‘man’ is not posed as essential for ‘man’ inasmuch as it is a man, but rather to each single individual, then, inescapably, [(i)] its relation in virtue of essentiality is to the quiddity of the individual, which is also ‘man’, or [(ii)] its relation in virtue of it [*i.e.* essentiality] is to the complex [of that] in virtue of which it becomes an individual, so that it is not in its entirety, but it is a part of that from which it comes, inasmuch as it is a complex. Then, it happens that not only ‘rational animal’, ‘man’ and what is analogous to them are essential for each single individual, but also the accidental features, like its colour, its being short, its being so-and-so and what is similar are essential, since they are constitutive parts of the complex.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “The meaning of this [statement] is that the individual is constituted by the quiddity and other accidental [features]. If it was said: “consider ‘man’ as essential for each single individual”, then you could [(i)] either consider it as essential for its quiddity (and this is what constitutes [the individual]) or [(ii)] consider it as essential for the complex of that in virtue of which the individual becomes and individual, so that it leads to the fact that the quiddity of man [comes from] life and extension, and from its individual accidents, but this is absurd.”

(٤) معنى ذلك¹ أنَّ الشخص يقوم من الماهية ومن عوارض أخرى. فإن قيل: “اجعل الإنسان ذاتيا لشخص شخص²”، فإما أن تجعله ذاتيا لماهيته، وذلك الذي يقوم، وإما أن تجعله ذاتيا لجملة ما به صار³ الشخص شخصا، فيؤدي إلى أن تكون⁴ ماهية للإنسان⁵ بالحيوة⁶ وبالتطويل وبأعراضه⁷ الشخصية، وهذا محال. من خط الإمام الرازي⁸.

Testimonia: MSS NRDA

فأما جعلت الإنسان ذاتيا [فإن قيل- شخص 2. || *D* يعني [معنى ذلك 1. || *praem. N* حاشية
NDA || الإنسان للإنسان 5. || *praem. D* لا تكون 4. || *A* || 3. صار 3. || *D* لشخص شخص
add. حاشية : *om. cett. R* : من خط الإمام الرازي 8. || *A* أعراضه [بأعراضه 7. || *N* بالحياة [بالحيوة
A

- 5) *K. al-Madḥal* I.5, pp. 31.17–32.3 (cf. also Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Šarḥ al-Išārāt*, 62.3–63.2 ed. Najafzadeh): “This because, when the universal utterance signifies a notion,

in achieving a better understanding of the definition, but is rather unnecessary, for it is enough to state that the part doesn’t signify at all, since it signifies according to the speaker’s will.

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: ‘I.e. the necessity of the remotion of the notion of the essential [feature] from the particulars by its remotion from the universal is not like the necessity of removing ‘man’ by the remotion of ‘laughing’, on the contrary, it is like the necessity of removing it by the remotion of ‘rational’. The difference between the two lies in the fact that ‘laughing’ causes the remotion of ‘man’ by its own remotion because of [its] being a necessary concomitant [of man], whereas ‘rational’ [causes it] because of [its] being constitutive [of man].’

Testimonia: MSS NBRD

postea deest | **D** | للإنسان [الإنسان 3. || **NBR** في **D** 2. || **D** المعنى [معنى 1. || *praem. NB* حاشية
من خط 6. || **D** | يرفع الإنسان لأجل اللزوم [لأجل-بارتفاعه 5. || **N** لوجوب [كوجوب 4. || **B**
R : *om. cett.* الرازي

- 6) *K. al-Madhal* I.6, p. 36.5–8: “This because, if the intermediate doesn’t cease to be concomitant to the quiddity without belonging evidently to it, the thing goes to the infinite; if, on the other hand, it is among the constitutive [features], then the ignored concomitant becomes, as you’ll know, concomitant to this constitutive [feature], [but] not constitutive, since the constitutive of the constitutive is constitutive, being concomitant for something else without mediation [of any other feature].”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “He [*scil.* Avicenna] wants to clarify the state of the necessary concomitant that is clarified by mediation [of something else]. Let’s say that, inescapably, the intermediate is in itself evident, and that it doesn’t require an evident intermediate; for [otherwise] this would make it go on to the infinite. It is possible that this intermediate is constitutive for the thing, the first being concomitant to the second in an evident manner, and that it doesn’t require an intermediate that is evidently concomitant to it, though without being constitutive for the intermediate when the intermediate is constitutive for the thing, because ‘the constitutive of the constitutive is

constitutive', and the fact that the constitutive is necessarily concomitant is not ignored."⁶⁷

(٦) يريد أن يبين حال اللازم الذي يبين بواسطة؛ فنقول إن¹ الواسطة لا² بُدَّ أن تكون بينا³ بنفسه، وألا احتاج إلى واسطة⁴ بينة، وذلك يؤدي إلى ما لا نهاية له⁵. ويجوز أن تكون هذه الواسطة مقومة⁶ للشيء والأول يكون لازما للثاني⁷ بين⁸ اللزوم له، وألا احتاج إلى وسط بين⁹ لزومه له¹⁰، ولا يكون مقومًا للوسط والوسط مقوم للشيء، لأن مقوم المقوم مقوم، والمقوم لا يجهل لزومه. نقل من خط الرازي رحمه الله¹¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBRDA

وسط [واسطة. 4 || sic (rectius بينة) بينا 3 || D فلا 2. لا 2. D أما [فنقول إن 1. NB || 1. praem. حاشية
[بين 8. D || 8. om. للثاني 7. D هذا الوسط مقوما [هذه الواسطة مقومة. 6. NBRA || 6. om. له 5. D ||
نقل من خط الرازي رحمه الله 11. D || 11. om. اللزوم له 10. D وسط بينة [وسط بين 9. DA || 9. بينا
R : om. cett. : add. A حاشية

7) *K. al-Madḥal* I.7, p. 40.7–8: “Besides all of this, that [argument] turns out to be false in other manners [as well], among which there is also that the status of “sensitive” coincide with the status of “animal” (*anna al-ḥassāsa ayḍan ḥukmuḥu ḥukmu al-ḥayawāni*), and that it is realized from common and proper notions as well [...].”⁶⁸

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “I.e. that the status of ‘sensitive’ and that of ‘animal’ are the same, because each one of them encompasses a more common essential and [something] more proper of it, so that if ‘animal’ signified the quiddity because it encompasses a more common essential, then also ‘sensitive’ would signify the quiddity because it encompasses [a more common essential] like that one [i.e. animal], but they don’t consider ‘sensitive’ as signifying the quiddity.”

(٧) أي أن¹ حكم الحساس وحكم الحيوان واحد، فإن² كل واحد منهما يتضمّن أعم ذاتي وأخصّه، فلو كان الحيوان دالا على الماهية لأجل أنّه يتضمّن ذاتيا أعم، لكان الحساس أيضا يدل³ على الماهية لأنّه يتضمّن مثل ذلك، وهم لا يجعلون الحساس دالا على الماهية⁵. من خط الإمام⁶.

⁶⁷ The gloss comments upon Avicenna’s argument for the existence of immediate necessary concomitants, namely the necessary features that evidently belong to the thing, without the need of demonstrating their relation to it.

⁶⁸ The context is Avicenna’s criticism to those philosophers who try to define what signifies the quiddity by adding the condition that the most common of the shared essential features is included in the signification of the shared essential, without signifying the quality. The attempt, by these philosophers’ part, is that of making the definition fit just for genus and species, although Avicenna shows how a differentia as well (like “sensitive”) can be said to encompass a general shared feature, which means that the definition is not well formed.

Testimonia: MSS N(B)⁶⁹RMP

الماهية وهم لا – 5. || M دالا [يدل] 3. || NM في أن [فإن] 2. || 1. أن. om. BRP حاشية praem. N || 6. من خط الإمام. R : om. cett.

- 8) *K. al-Madḥal* I.9, p. 50.14–16: “Here some confusions occurred, among which there is the fact that, when the genus has something like the genus, namely ‘predicated of many’, which is a genus for the genus, if the genus is predicated of the ‘predicated of many’ which is its genus, then the genus is predicated of the genus itself...”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “When we define the genus, we assume in its definition a notion that is common to it and to something else, namely ‘predicated of many’ (since this, I mean ‘predicated of many’, can also be said of the accidents) and something that is proper of it, namely ‘differing in species in answer [to the question] what it is’, so that this notion is assumed in the definition of genus as if it were a genus for it, whereas the notion which is proper to it [is assumed] as if it were its differentia, but while we are seeking the definition of genus, we have already assumed the genus in it, as if we assumed the genus in its own definition, and this is absurd.”⁷⁰

(٨) إذا حددنا الجنس أخذنا في حده معنى يعمّه وغيره، وهو المقول¹ على كثيرين² (إذ ذلك، أعني المقول³ على كثيرين، قد يقال أيضا على الأعراض) وشيئا يخصّه، وهو المختلفين بالنوع في جواب ما هو؛ فأخذ هذا المعنى في حد الجنس كأنه جنس له، والمعنى الخاص⁴ له⁵ كأنه فصل له ونحن في طلب حد الجنس وقد أخذنا الجنس فيه، فكأننا أخذنا الجنس⁶ في حد نفسه، وهو محال. من خط الإمام⁷.

Testimonia: MSS NBRMP

[المقول] 3. || BRP الكثيرين [كثيرين] 2. || M القول [المقول] 1. || 1. M praem. تعليق : NBP حاشية praem. N || 6. من خط الإمام. R : om. فيه – الجنس. M || 5. له. om. M || 4. postea deest B || 7. القول cett.

- 9) *K. al-Madḥal* I.12, p. 68.6–9: “As to the natural genus, it gives to what is [ranged] under it its name and its definition inasmuch as it is a nature, *i.e.* insofar as the genus that is, for instance, ‘animal’ is an animal, and not inasmuch as it is a natural genus, namely a notion that is apt, when it is conceived, to become a genus because it is so, since this is not necessary for what is [ranged] under it (*fa-innahu laysa yaḡibu hādā li-mā taḥtahu*).”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “*I.e.* since this notion [*scil.* that of natural genus] is not among those in virtue of which each one of particular animals [ranged] under the universal animal exists.”

⁶⁹ Most of the marginal gloss went lost when the margins of MS B were cut. However, the *incipit* is still readable.

⁷⁰ On the same subject, see also al-Rāzī's *Manṭiq al-Mulāḥḥaṣ*, pp. 60.7–61.9 ed. Qarāmalikī-Aṣḡarīnizhād.

(٩) أي فإنه ليس هذا المعنى مما يوجد به كل واحد واحد من الحيوانات الجزئية التي تحت الحيوان الكلي. من خط الإمام فخر الدين الرازي.¹

Testimonia: MSS NBR

حاشية *praem.* NB || 1. من خط الإمام فخر الدين الرازي. *om. cett.*

- 10) *K. al-Madḥal* I.13, p. 78.10–11: “As to the constitutive differentiae, they are those dividing its [*i.e.* the genus] genus (*qassamat ḡinsahu*) and constituting it as a species; then, the differentia generates the species [ranged] under the genus. As to the divisive [differentiae], they are those dividing it without constituting the species [ranged] under it.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “*I.e.* they [*scil.* the differentiae] divide the genus of that genus, so that they make the genus of the genus that they divided become a species; what is in this manner is constitutive for the genus that it constitutes as a species, without being divisive for it itself, but it is divisive of its genus and constitutive for it. Its divisive differentia is the one that divides it itself rather than its genus, and whose process of dividing it entails the generation of a species [ranged] under it.”

(١٠) أي قسّمت جنس ذلك الجنس، فصيرت الجنس¹ الذي قسّمت جنسه² نوعاً؛ وما كان كذلك فإنه مقوم للجنس الذي يقوم³ نوعاً، وليس مقسماً له بعينه، بل هو مقسّم لجنسه ومقوم له. وفصله المقسّم هو الذي⁴ يقسّمه نفسه⁵، لا جنسه، وفي تقسيمه إياه إحداث نوع تحته. من خط الإمام⁶.

Testimonia: MSS NBR Y

هو Y || 4. قومه [يقومه 3. R || 2. جنسه *om.* BR || 1. فصيرت الجنس *praem.* NB حاشية
add. Y : *om. cett.* سمع ١٢ R : من خط الإمام 6. NBR || 5. نفسه *om.* Y || الذي

- 11) *K. al-Madḥal* II.1, p. 94.1–3: “With regard to these two divergences the doubt can arise, since among the differentiae there is what falls externally from the genus’ nature, like the division into two equal [parts]: in fact, it is the differentia of the even, according to what is believed, and it falls externally from the number; but the answer to this [problem] will appear to you in other places.”⁷¹

⁷¹ The “divergences” Avicenna talks about are those mentioned to distinguish genus and differentia in Porphyry, *Isag.*, 14.21–15.2 Busse. More in detail, Porphyry claims that genus and differentia differ because each genus is anterior to its differentiae, and the differentiae exist within their genus, so that removing the genus entails removing the differentia but not the other way around. Avicenna warns the reader that this is not true with regard to all of the differentiae; the gloss refers to the kinds of differentiae that Porphyry mentions in *Isag.* 8.8 Busse, where he distinguishes between a common, a proper and a most proper sense of “differentia”, claiming that Avicenna meant to exclude the common and proper sense of “differentia” (that respectively coincide with Porphyry’s separable accidents and with both properties and inseparable accidents), because he is only concerned with the most proper sense, namely that of *differentia specifica*.

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “Know that this doubt is admitted in the case of the common and proper differentia; as to what concerns the most proper [differentia], it is his [*i.e.* Avicenna's] concern in this place, so that no [doubt] is admitted on it, and that holds true.”

(١١) افهم هذا الشك يتطرق على الفصل العام والخاص؛ وأما خاص الخاص وهو غرضه في هذا الموضوع فلا يتطرق عليه، وذلك بالحقيقة. من خط الإمام¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBR

1. *R* : *om. cett.* من خط الإمام.

12) *K. al-Madḥal* II.1, p. 96.16–18: “And if this is not done (*wa-in lam yuf‘al dālika*), then there is a convergence with regard to the definition between genus and some of the differentiae, and, [on the other hand], a divergence with regard to the definition between the genus and some [other differentiae].”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “*I.e.* if one doesn't consider the relation between the two [*i.e.* genus and differentia] in virtue of the major and of the most suitable part [*cf.* *K. al-Madḥal* p. 96.12–15], and, besides this, one believes that some of the differentiae are predicated in the “what it is”, according to what this aforementioned excellent [philosopher] thought [*cf.* *K. al-Madḥal* p. 96.4–12], then it necessarily follows that the genus and some of the differentiae share the definition, whereas some of them [*i.e.* some of the differentiae] diverge with regard to the definition [itself].”⁷²

(١٢) أي إن لم يجعل المناسبة بينهما بالأكثر والأولى، ويعتقد مع هذا أن بعض الفصول قد يحمل من طريق ما هو، على ما زعم هذا الفاضل المذكور، فحينئذ يلزم أن يكون بين الجنس وبعض¹ الفصول مشاركة في الحد، وبين بعضها مباينة في الحد. من خط الإمام².

Testimonia: MSS NBRA

1. *s.l. N* || 2. *R* : *om. cett.* من خط الإمام.

13) *K. al-Madḥal* II.4, p. 110.5–6: “Neither the genus is a genus for the differentia, nor the differentia is a species for the genus, otherwise another differentia would be required; on the contrary, the differentia is a notion external to the nature of the genus.”

⁷² The gloss aims at making explicit the phrase “if this is not done”; in order to do so, al-Rāzī refers to the preceding passage in *K. al-Madḥal* p. 96.4–15, where Avicenna himself mentions “someone among the excellent [philosophers]” (*ba‘d al-fuḍalā‘i*) who claimed that sometimes differentiae are predicated in answer to the what it is as well. As to grounding the differentiation between genus and differentia “in virtue of the most suitable part” as a possible solution to avoid the identity of definition between genus and differentia, it refers to the solution proposed by Avicenna (p. 96.12–5), *i.e.* that of stating that genus is the *most suitable* (*aḥrā*) predicable to be predicated in answer to what it is.

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “I.e. the nature of the genus does not exist in the nature of the differentia in such a way that it is a genus for the differentia and the differentia is a species for it; on the contrary, the nature of the differentia is something external to the nature of the genus, so that, since it is so, the genus is predicated of the differentia just in the way the concomitant common accidents are, since the genus is predicated of this differentia as well as of other differentiae, and the differentia is concomitant to the genus *qua* genus because, in virtue of the fact that it attaches to its [*i.e.* genus’] nature, it becomes a genus.”

(١٣) أي ليست طبيعة الجنس موجودة في طبيعة الفصل فيكون جنسا للفصل والفصل نوعا له، بل طبيعة الفصل شيء خارج عن طبيعة الجنس، فلما كان كذلك لم يكن حمل الجنس على الفصل إلا كحمل الأعراض العامة^١ اللازمة، إذ يحمل الجنس على هذا الفصل وغيره من الفصول، وكون الفصل لازما للجنس من حيث هو جنس لأن بلحاظه لطبيعته صار جنسا. من خط الإمام الرازي.^٢

Testimonia: MSS NBRPA

1. العامة *om.* P || 2. من خط الإمام الرازي R : *om. cett.*

14) *K. al-Madḥal* II.4, p. 110.6–8: “In fact, ‘rational’ is not an animal having rationality, but rather a thing having rationality, even if it necessarily follows for that thing to be an animal.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “Because animality is not included in the quiddity of ‘rational’, even if it is concomitant to it in a way that it is necessary in the existence.”

(١٤) لأن^١ الحيوانية لا تدخل في ماهية الناطق، وإن كانت لازمة له لزوم ما لا بد منه في الوجود. من خط الإمام الرازي.^٢

Testimonia: MSS NBRP

1. فإن [لأن] P || 2. من خط الإمام الرازي R : *om. cett.*

IV.2. Glosses on *K. al-Maqūlāt*

1) *K. al-Maqūlāt* I.1, p. 5.14–17: “In fact, it is not necessary for him, inasmuch as he is a logician, to dedicate himself to know that the simple utterances are posited in a class of things, that are the common universals (*al-kulliyātu al-‘āmmatu*), rather than knowing this with regard to [another] class of things, that are the specific universals (*al-kulliyātu al-ḥāṣṣatu*).”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “The ‘common universals’ are the *summa genera*; the ‘specific universals’ are the *infimae species*.”

(١) الكليات العامة الأجناس العالية؛ الكليات الخاصة الأنواع السافلة. من خط الرازي¹.

Testimonia: MSS BR(NM⁷³)A

1. *R*: *om. cett.* من خط الرازي.

- 2) *K. al-Maqūlāt* I.1, p. 8.7–9: “As to their insistence on the fact that this one is a logical study, and that it depends on the fact that, inescapably, there are utterances (*bi-anna alfāzan lā muḥālata*), it is a mere sophism, and for this reason they turned out to be perplexed and confused.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “I.e. [it depends] on the fact that there are necessarily indispensable utterances.”

(٢) أي بأن ههنا بالضرورة ألفاظا لا يستغنى عنها. من خط الإمام¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBR⁷⁴

حاشية *praem.* N || 1. *R*: *om. cett.* من خط الإمام.

- 3) *K. al-Maqūlāt* I.3, p. 21.12–13: “Provided that you don’t turn to anything else (*bi-ṣarṭi an lā taltafita ilā ṣay’in āḥara*).”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “I.e. provided that you consider the nature of each one of the individuals as abstracted, and then, besides this, you turn to the other notion in order to understand whether it is a predicate of it or a subject.”

(٣) أي بشرط أن تنظر إلى طبيعة كل واحد من المعين مجردة، ثم تلتفت مع هذا إلى المعنى الآخر لتعرف هل هو محمول عليه أو موضوع. من خط الإمام¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBRPA

1. *R*: *om. cett.* من خط الإمام.

- 4) *K. al-Maqūlāt* I.4, p. 29.8–9: “But someone could say: ‘time is, in your own view, an accident, though it doesn’t inhere in anything’; the answer to this is that it does inhere in something, and the clarification of this [point] is in the natural science.”⁷⁵

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “He means that the primary movement, of which time is a measure, inheres in the moving body, since if an accident inheres in an accident, and

⁷³ MSS NM break this marginal gloss into two smaller notes (*ay al-aḡnāsu al-‘āliyyatu* and *ay al-anwā‘u al-sāfilatu*) directly linked, respectively, to the terms *al-kulliyātu al-‘āmmatu* and *al-kulliyātu al-ḥāṣṣatu* in Avicenna’s text.

⁷⁴ MS M seems to know this note as well: below *bi-anna alfāzan* in the text, MS M reports *ay hāhunā*.

⁷⁵ Avicenna states that time is an accident of motion in *Al-Samā‘ al-ṭabī‘ī*, IV.6, and he claims that time is not something subsisting in itself, but rather something inhering in matter through the mediation of motion, in *Al-Samā‘ al-ṭabī‘ī*, II.11.

the other accident inheres in a substance, then the first accident as well inheres in that substance. For this [reason], time is an accident of primary movement, so that it [*i.e.* time] exists in his [*i.e.* of the primary movement] subject.”

(٤) يعني: في الجسم المتحرك الحركة الأولية التي الزمان مقدارها، فإنه إذا كان عرض في عرض والعرض الآخر في جوهر، فالعرض الأول أيضا في ذلك الجوهر، فلهذا يكون الزمان عارضا للحركة الأولية، فهو موجود في موضوعها. من خط الإمام¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBRA

1. من خط الإمام R : om. cett.

5) *K. al-Maḡūlāt* I.4, p. 32.16: “Nothing of the form (*al-ṣūra*) can be separated from matter.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “He means the form of celestial bodies”.

(٥) يعني صورة الأجسام الفلكية. من خط الرازي¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBRP

1. من خط الرازي R : om. cett.

6) *K. al-Maḡūlāt* I.4, p. 33.4–5: “The similarity between the absolute place, time and accident ceases because of the determination we posed as a condition.”⁷⁶

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “Because, when you disjoint place, time and the thing that is in both, that thing is separated from them but, still, it exists being in itself subsistent.”

(٦) لأنك، إذا نفيت المكان والزمان والشيء الذي هو فيهما، فذلك الشيء يفارقهما، وهو بعد قائم بنفسه¹ موجود. من خط الرازي².

Testimonia: MSS NBRA

حاشية *praem.* N || 1. أو add. A || 2. من خط الرازي R : om. cett.

7) *K. al-Maḡūlāt* I.4, p. 35.1–3: “But there is something towards which it is absolutely necessary for you to tend, namely the fact that it seems that in this description by means of which the accident was described it is not meant, by ‘accident’, *whāṭ (mā)*, when the man was immersed in philosophy, he perceived (*ša‘ara bihi*).”

⁷⁶ Al-Rāzī’s gloss must be read in the context of the distinction between the accident’s being in a substance and the thing’s being in a place or in a time Avicenna is carrying on in the passage. The gloss explains Avicenna’s claim that similarities between time and place, on the one hand, and accident, on the other, cease to be if we consider that a thing can well subsist even if its previous time and place are removed and it is, for instance, placed in a different time or place, whereas an accident doesn’t subsist without its subject.

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “Put, instead of the word ‘what’, the word ‘that’, so that it is closer to [your] understanding.”

(٧) تجعل بدل لفظة “ما” لفظة “الذي”، حتى يكون أقرب من الفهم. من خط الرازي.¹

Testimonia: MSS NBRPA

*add. A*⁷⁷ عمر كاتي : *om. cett.* R : من خط الرازي 1. N || *prae*m. حاشية

- 8) *K. al-Maḥḥālāt* II.1, p. 62.7–9: “A proof of the fact that the existent is not a genus is that, if it were a genus, then its differentia should either exist or not; if it existed, then the differentia should necessarily play the role of the species, and then the genus would be predicated of it; and if it didn’t exist, then how could it divide [the genus]?”⁷⁸

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “Remember, in this place, what he said in the last chapter of the *Isagoge* [i.e. *K. al-Madḥāl* II.4, p. 110.5–6].”

(٨) تذكر¹ في هذا الموضع ما يقوله في الفصل الآخر من إيساغوجي. من خط الإمام.²

Testimonia: MSS NBRP

1. *scripsi* : تذكر R : من خط الإمام 2. NBP || يتذكر R : *om. cett.*

- 9) *K. al-Maḥḥālāt* III.4, p. 120.12–13: “For place is either a species ranged under the surface (and not a species of quantity in the rank of the surface, enumerated with it as a species under the quantity), or it is a surface assumed under a [certain] condition, so that it is necessary for the body assumed to be under a designated condition as well.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “I.e. as to the case in which one assumed a surface existing in a [certain] condition as a species of quantity in the rank of body and absolute surface, then it would be necessary also for the body to be assumed in a designated state as another species, but this is an absurd deviation [from the truth].”

⁷⁷ MS A seems to ascribe the gloss to al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī; the manuscript preserves a few other marginal notes ascribed to al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī, therefore a misattribution might have occurred (this would be the only case). The presence of notes ascribed to al-Kātibī al-Qazwīnī in MS A reveals some knowledge of al-Kātibī’s activity on the text, and a further inquiry into the subject might reveal some other interesting exegetical material.

⁷⁸ The passage of *K. al-Maḥḥālāt* mentions the absurd hypothesis that a genus might be predicated of its differentia, so that the differentia plays the role of a species for the genus. Al-Rāzī recalls Avicenna’s explicit refusal of this relation between genus and differentia in *K. al-Madḥāl* II.4, on which he made some remarks in glosses nos. 13 and 14.

(٩) يعني: وأما إن أخذ سطحاً موجوداً بحال نوعاً من الكم في مرتبة الجسم والسطح المطلق، فيجب أيضاً أن يوجد الجسم أيضاً مأخوذاً بحال مخصص نوعاً آخر، وهذا شطط ومحال¹. من خط الرازي².

Testimonia: MSS NBR

1. *R* : *om. cett.* من خط الرازي 2. *R* محال [ومحال].

10) *K. al-Maqūlāt* V.5, p. 195.10-13: “So, the notion that is perceived *per se*, if it is necessary a notion that is perceived *per se*, is [(i)] other than that disposition, even if it is associated to it⁷⁹ and together with it, and [(ii)] other than the movement of the pressure itself, and [(iii)] other than the pressure. The first of these [notions] [(i)] is a privation, whereas the other [(ii)] is in the class of movement and not in that of quality, and the third [(iii)] belongs to the genus of qualities that are in quantities (*al-kayfiyyāt allatī fī al-kammiyyāt*), except for passive qualities and passions.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “This points at the curvature that the body’s surface undergoes in the condition of being pressed, belonging to the class of the qualities that occur to quantities.”⁸⁰

(١٠) يشير ذلك إلى التقعر الذي يقتري سطح الجسم في حال الانغماز، وهو من باب الكيفيات التي تعرض للكميات. من خط الرازي¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBR

R : *om. cett.* من خط الرازي 1. *N* *praem.* حاشية

11) *K. al-Maqūlāt* VI.1, p. 210.20: “But who doubts that proximity is in the class of relatives?

(ومن يشكك عليه أن المجاورة من باب المضاف؟)

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “*I.e.* ‘But to what kind of man doubts that proximity is in the class of position?’”⁸¹

⁷⁹ Reading (p. 195.11) *yuqārinuhu* instead of *yuqāribuhu*.

⁸⁰ The gloss aims at providing an example of the qualities that occur to quantities.

⁸¹ Seemingly, the gloss points to the reading of *man* (‘who’) as a synonym of *ayyu insānin* (‘what kind of man’). There is, however, a slight discrepancy between Avicenna’s text and its paraphrase in the gloss: the latter concludes modifying the reference to the class of relatives (*bāb al-muḍāfi*) with a reference to the class of position (*bāb al-waḍʿi*). Avicenna’s argument in the context aims at demonstrating that a certain kind of ‘position’, namely that implying a proximity to something else, is, in fact, a relative, because this kind of position is defined according to proximity which is, on its turn, a relative. The phrase on which the gloss

(١١) يعني: وأي إنسان يشكل عليه أنَّ المجاورة من باب الوضع؟ من خط الرازي¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBRP

praem. N || 1. من خط الرازي *R: om. cett.* حاشية

IV.3. *Glosses on K. al-'Ibāra*

- 1) **K. al-'Ibāra I.3**, p. 22.1–4: “If by ‘he walks’ (*yamšī*) this sense is meant [*i.e.* that something existing in the world is characterized by having walks], his saying ‘he walks’ is true if there is, in the world, something that walks, and it is false if there is not, in the world, anything that walks, since ‘he walks’ is taken as if its notion is the notion of the statement that something in the world walks, and therefore it is not possible to predicate it of Zayd, so that Zayd is something in the world that walks.”⁸²

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “*I.e.* if you state, with regard to something [existent] in the world, that it walks, and you predicate that proposition of its definition, inasmuch as truth and falsehood are included in it, then its predication of Zayd is not valid, as if you said: ‘Amr walks’ and predicated that proposition of its definition, then it would not be possible for you to predicate this proposition of Zayd, since you don’t say: ‘Amr walks [is] Zayd’; as this is not valid, neither that is valid.”

(١) أي إذا حكمت لشيء ما من العالم بأنه يمشي، وحملت ذلك قضية على حدّه بحيث يدخله صدق¹ أو كذب، فحينئذ لا يصحّ حمل ذلك على زيد، كما إذا قلت: “عمرو يمشي” وحملت ذلك قضية على حدّه، فلا يجوز أن تحمل هذه القضية على زيد ولا تقول: “عمرو يمشي زيد”؛ فكما لا يصحّ هذا، فلا يصحّ ذلك. من خط الإمام رحمه الله.

Testimonia: MSS NBRP

praem. NBP || 1. صدق *om. NBP* || 2. من خط الإمام رحمه الله *R: om. cett.* حاشية

- 2) **K. al-'Ibāra I.3**, p. 22.5–8: “This because your saying: ‘a thing in the world that walks’ allows two senses: [(i)] one of them is the thing in the world characterized as having walks at a certain time, so that this composition [of expressions] is a qualificative composition (*tarkīb taqyīdin*), not a predicative one (*tarkīb ḥamlin*), and neither truth nor falsity are included in it. [(ii)] The second one is that it is stated of something in the world that it walks. In the Arabic language, in the first one [(i)]

comments is the conclusion of this syllogism, arguing that, consequently, a certain kind of position is a relative.

⁸² Seemingly, the context of Avicenna’s remark is Arist. *De Int.* 3, 16b19ff., where Aristotle states that, when uttered by itself, the verb is a name signifying something, though without signifying whether it is or not. Avicenna remarks that if a verb like “walks” is meant in an absolute sense, then it is predicable and is neither true nor false, but if, on the contrary, it is meant as equivalent to the statement: “there is something in the world that walks” (which is the case in the passage above), then it cannot be predicated, and it is passible of truth or falseness.

is not included [the word] ‘that’ (*inna*), whereas it is sometimes included in the second one [(ii)].”⁸³

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “He said so because, when you say [(i)] ‘the thing in the world characterized as having walks’ [and] then you stop, the soul looks for the completion of this clause, since this clause in itself is not understandable, nor it is self-reliant; on the contrary, it is a subject requiring a predicate in order to be considered true or false. Therefore, he [*i.e.* Avicenna] said that the word ‘that’ (*inna*) is not included in this qualificative phrase, *i.e.* it is not included in it in a way that, after its inclusion in it, it [*i.e.* the phrase] is self-reliant and either truth or falseness follow from it, whereas when we state about something in the world that it walks [(ii)], it is possible for us to say ‘something walking in the world walks’ and to stop, being it a complete statement in which truth and falsity are included.”

(٢) قال ذلك¹ لأنه² إذا قلتَ إن الشيء من العالم الموصوف بأن له مشياً ثم سكنتَ، فإنَّ النفس تطلب تمام هذا القول، لأنَّ هذا القول بنفسه غير مفهوم ولا هو مستقل بذاته، بل هو موضوع ويحتاج إلى محمول حتى يصدق أو يكذب. فلهذا قال إنَّ لفظة “إنَّ” لا تدخل في هذا القول التقييدي أي لا تدخله على أن يستقل بعد دخوله عليه بنفسه ويتبعه صدق أو كذب؛ وإنا إذا حكمنا³ لشيء ما من العالم بأنه يمشي، فحينئذ يجوز أن نقول إنَّ مشياً ما من العالم يمشي ونسكن، ويكون كلاماً⁴ يدخله الصدق والكذب. من خط الإمام رحمه الله⁵.

Testimonia: MSS NBRP

تماماً 4. NBP حكمة [حكمنا 3. N لأنك] لأنه 2. R om. قال ذلك 1. NBP *praem.* تعليق
add. N 5. R : om. *cett.* من خط الإمام رحمه الله

3) *K. al-‘Ibāra* I.10, p. 69.3: “And if matter posed in actuality what is potential, then it would be necessary...”

(ولو كانت المادة تجعل ما بالقوة بالفعل لكان يجب...)

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “*I.e.* if matter had made the indefinite proposition, that is potentially universal, universal in actuality, then it would be necessary...”

⁸³ In order to understand Avicenna’s argument, one must bear in mind the distinction between the “qualificative phrase”, resulting from a qualificative composition (*tarkīb taqyīdīn*) of expressions, and “predicative phrase” (*tarkīb ḥamlīn*). Qualificative phrases are, for instance, the definition and the description of something, that aren’t susceptible of truth or falsity, whereas a statement predicating something of a subject is a predicative phrase, allowing a judgement on its truth or falsity. By saying that, in the Arabic language, one doesn’t include the particle *inna* in the qualificative phrase, Avicenna means that a qualificative phrase is not a complete statement and, therefore, cannot be introduced by *inna*.

(٣) أي لو كانت المادة تجعل القضية المهمة التي هي بالقوة كلية كلية بالفعل، لكان يجب. من خط الإمام¹.

Testimonia: MSS NBRA

præm. N || 1. من خط الإمام *R* : *om. cett.*

- 4) *K. al- 'Ibāra II.1*, p. 78.8: "... so that it is possible to negate it by means of a negative particle that is included another time in the copula."⁸⁴

Fahr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: "I.e. it [*scil.* the negative particle] is included another time in the proposition, and its inclusion, this second time in the copula, is not as it was its inclusion in the proposition for the first time in the presently [existent] predicate, with the copula included in it [*i.e.* the negative particle] as making, from both [*i.e.* the negative particle and the presently existent predicate], affirmative a predicate from a name which is not presently [existent]."⁸⁵

(٤) أي يدخل كرة أخرى في القضية، ويكون دخوله في هذه الكرة الأخرى على الرابطة لا كما كان دخوله أولاً في القضية على المحمول المحصل داخلة عليه¹ الرابطة جاعلة منهما محمولاً² من اسم غير محصل موجبا. من خط الإمام³.

Testimonia: MSS NBRPA

præm. N || 1. عليها *P* || 2. محمولاً *BPA* || 3. من خط الإمام *R* : *om. cett.*

- 5) *K. al- 'Ibāra II.2*, p. 92.4–6: "In fact, the First Teaching assumed (*fa-inna al-Ta'līma al-Awwala ḡa'ala*) that 'not-man' is apt to be an indefinite (*ḡayru muḥaṣṣalin*) subject, though without stating, by this, that 'not-man' signifies a specific or generic absence (*yadullu 'alā 'adamin ḥāṣṣin aw ḡinsiyyin*)."

⁸⁴ Avicenna analyzes (p. 78.1ff.) the structure of a tripartite proposition (composed by a subject, a copula and a predicate) in which a negative particle is included. The negative particle might either be included in the copula (the example provided is [p. 78.3]: "Zayd is not found honest") or the copula might be included in the negation (the example provided is [p. 78. 3]: "Zayd is found not-honest"). In this second case, the negative particle is actually a part of the predicate "not-honest", so that it is possible to negate again the statement (by including another negative particle in the copula) and to claim: "Zayd is not found not-honest". The possibility of denying a phrase like "Zayd is found not-honest" is precisely the point al-Rāzī comments upon.

⁸⁵ Al-Rāzī means that in this second case (for instance, a phrase like: "Zayd is not found not-honest"), the presence of the negation in the copula ("not found") generates a phrase different from that in which the negative particle entered in the phrase denying a presently existent predicate (e.g. "Zayd is found not-honest"). The difference that al-Rāzī points out lies in the fact that a phrase like "Zayd is not found not-honest" is negative, whereas in the phrase "Zayd is found not-honest", the negative particle conjunct to the predicate "honest" form a unique predicate ("not-honest") that the copula affirms. In conclusion, the first is a negative statement, whereas the second is an affirmative one. For a similar remark, cf. also Arist. *APr* I.46, 52a24–6.

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “I.e. he [*scil.* Aristotle] assumes that ‘not-man’ is apt to the fact that, for instance, a stone, or a dress or whiteness are called by this [name]; this in spite of the fact that humanity doesn’t exist neither in the genus nor in the species of whiteness, nor [even] in its proper essence.”⁸⁶

(٥) أي جعل اللا إنسان صالحا بأن¹ يسمى به الحجر مثلا أو الثوب أو البياض؛ هذا مع أن الإنسانية² غير موجودة في جنس البياض ولا في نوعه ولا في خاص ذاته. من خط الإمام³.

Testimonia: MSS NBRPA

om. cett. R : من خط الإمام 3. B || للإنسانية [الإنسانية] 2. PA || لأن [بأن] 1. N || *praem.* حاشية

- 6) *K. al-‘Ibāra* II.2, p. 93.2: “... provided the aforementioned condition (*ba‘da al-ṣarṭi al-maḍkūrī*)”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “I.e. provided the fact that the subject that is the man is existent [and] not non-existent.”

(٦) أي بعد أن يكون الموضوع الذي هو الإنسان¹ موجودا غير معدوم. من خط الإمام².

Testimonia: MSS NBRPA

om. cett. R : من خط الإمام 2. N || لإنسان [الإنسان] 1. N || *praem.* حاشية
add. PA (= *K. al-‘Ibāra* II.2, p. 93.10).⁸⁷ على ما هو معدوم من الموضوعات

- 7) *K. al-‘Ibāra* II.3, p. 98.10–12: “Sometimes the utterance is one, but it is shared [by different meanings], and is according to both the cases employed as examples together: it’s up to the answerer, when the questioner appoints him as a judge between two horns of a contradiction and urges him to answer by one of them, to force the questioner to render more accurate the question, to determine it and to make it univocal.”

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “When [the questioner] asks, for instance, whether the ‘*ayn*’⁸⁸ is seeing or not, the answerer must say: ‘*ayn* signifies different meanings; about which one of its meanings did you ask this sort [of question]?’ When [the questioner] asks: ‘can the ‘*ayn* perceive?’’, then the answerer must say that there is no successful [answer] valid for many notions, so about which species of them it is asked? Then [the answer] is fortified after the delimitation of the question.”

⁸⁶ The problem raised here regards Aristotle’s treatment of *indefinite name* (*De Int.* 10, 19b8–9: ἀόριστον ὄνομα). “Not-man” is, in fact, apt to refer to all those beings that are not “man”.

⁸⁷ Cf. *supra* §II.4.

⁸⁸ This Arabic term signifies “eye” and “source”, and can even denote the *dīnār*: therefore, the ambiguity of the question depends on the lack of any further specification of the sense in which the term is meant.

(٧) إذا سأل مثلاً هل العين باصرة أم لا، فللمجيب أن يقول: “العين تدل على معانٍ مختلفة¹، فعن أي معانيها سألت² كذلك؟”. إذا سأل³ هل العين مدركة، فله أن يقول إلا دراك مقع⁴ على معانٍ كثيرة، فعن أي نوع منها يسأل؟ ثم يحصن بعد تحديد المسألة. من خط الإمام⁵.

Testimonia: MSS **NBRPA**

[مقع add. N || 4. فقال. ⁸⁹NBPA سلب [سألت 2. || R مخصوصة [مختلفة 1. || N praem. حاشية
om. cett. R: من خط الإمام 5. || A يقع

- 8) *K. al- 'Ibāra* II.4, p. 120.3–5: “As to the case in which the dispositional potentiality is such that none of the two things is assigned to it in itself, but it receives the two contraries together, the other [potentiality], that is in respect of the agent, doesn't do the two contraries together.”⁹⁰

Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī: “It means that this dispositional potentiality comes to actuality by means of another potentiality in the agent, and the status of that other [potentiality] is different from the status of this one, inasmuch as it [*scil.* the dispositional potentiality] holds [both] for the thing and for its opposite, [whereas], on the contrary, [the potentiality] that is in the agent belongs to one thing only.”

(٨) يعني أن هذه القوة الاستعدادية تخرج إلى الفعل بقوة أخرى في فاعل، وحكم تلك الأخرى غير حكم تلك¹ من حيث أنها على الشيء وعلى مقابله، بل² التي في الفاعل تكون لشيء واحد. من خط الإمام³

Testimonia: MSS **NBRP**

om. cett. R: من خط الإمام 3. || om. BRP بل 2. || P لك [تلك 1. || N praem. حاشية

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⁸⁹ In MS A, the last letter has no diacritics.

⁹⁰ The context is Avicenna's comment on Arist. *De Int.* 13, 22b29ff., where Aristotle explains that some capabilities (δυνάμεις) can potentially be realized into two opposites (as, for instance, rational capabilities), whereas some others cannot (an example is provided by irrational capabilities like that of fire, that only has the capability of heating and not that of not heating, so that it would be wrong to state that it is possible, for fire, to heat and not to heat). Avicenna comments upon the “active potentialities” (both rational and irrational) in *K. al- 'Ibāra* II.4, p. 119.15–120.3, and then proceeds (in *K. al- 'Ibāra* II.4, p. 120.3–5) by analyzing the case of dispositional potentialities. The passage aims at distinguishing the dispositional potentiality from the active one, although in both cases one speaks of “possibility” (*imkān*).

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